

GERMANY'S MOVE PRESENTS NO NEW CHALLENGE

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STOP PRESS

A Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

APPREHENSION at the activities of peace organizations was recorded by the annual meeting of the Central Council of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations last Thursday.

The meeting adopted a resolution declaring that these organizations, "under the pretence of working for a just and lasting peace, in fact promote an atmosphere of defeatism, using for this purpose, among other methods, the publication of literature urging objection to service on conscientious grounds and offering assistance to this end and the distribution of literature to men who are registering at employment exchanges under the Military Service Act."

I can make no better comment than that which came from the one delegate who voted against the resolution—Second Lieutenant E. W. Harrison, who appeared in uniform. He said:

"The resolution and preceding speeches are nothing but an attack on conscientious objectors. With that I can have no sympathy. I do not agree with conscientious objectors, but, in the name of all that is sacred and English, they have the right to their conscience—the eternal right of human beings to live in freedom of body, mind, and soul."

"I am very unhappy about the spirit which is developing in this country. Two years ago, if I had said in a speech that it was better that ninety-nine shirkers should escape conscription rather than that one man who really had an objection to war should be forced to fight, everyone in the Conservative party in the room would have clapped and said 'Hear, hear.' After seven months of war we have developed a wicked, intolerant attitude. If you are living in England you have a perfect right to say that you disapprove of this war and won't take part in it."

It only remains to add that Mr. Harrison's speech was frequently interrupted by cries of dissent and when he left the platform a few of the delegates, mostly women, hissed him.

★ Victims of War

ANOTHER man was hissed for his views at a London Meeting the following night. He was Dr. Leigh Henry, the composer.

In an interview with *The Star* on Saturday he declared that he yearned for peace with justice for all nations. He felt so deeply about it that he was not prepared to apologize for his remarks at that meeting. He went on:

"I am not concerned with politics except in their effect on the world of culture. The arts and science languish in times of war. Who would not welcome an early peace? This war is being waged to maintain freedom of expression. I exercised that freedom. I am not a peace-at-any-price man. I am no agitator."

It was a reminder that war besides the material damage and the human sacrifice it involves, also strangle the cultural activities of mankind.

Growth of Intolerance in Britain and France :: The Reckoning That Is Coming

AT a Reading Borough Council meeting held on April 2 the following recommendations were adopted by 26 votes to 20:

"Finance and General Purposes Committee, National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939: Conscientious Objectors:

"In accordance with the decision at their meeting on March 27 the Committee gave further consideration to questions respecting COs in their employ."

"Resolved: (1) That the Committee do recommend to the Council that COs in the service of the Corporation who are registered by the local tribunal set up under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, unconditionally or conditionally on their undertaking work of a civilian character and under civilian control should not continue their ordinary occupation in the service of the Corporation or undertake full-time civil defence duties in such service during the period of the war, but that, in order that those COs who are superannuated should not lose their superannuation rights, they be granted leave of absence without pay (subject to Resolution (3) below) from a date to be fixed in each case after the decision of the local tribunal until the end of the war or until the Council decides that they may resume their ordinary occupation.

"(2) That the Committee do also recommend that the Council do inform the Ministry of Labour that, in their opinion, tribunals should not order COs in the service of the Corporation who are registered conditionally on their undertaking work of a civilian character and under civilian control to continue, during the period of the war, their ordinary occupation in the service of the Corporation.

"(3) That it be a recommendation to the Council that the question of paying a CO in the service of the Corporation a sum which does not exceed the remuneration which he would have received if he had continued his ordinary occupation after deducting therefrom the amount of his pay for the work he carries out in some other capacity while on leave of absence be considered on the merits of the individual case."

Thomas G. Richards, of West Ealing, comments:

"I do not know how this is going to affect those already in the Corporation's employ—such as myself—but if the Council feel this way about things, I fail to see why they should wait for the tribunal's decision before firing COs. If this should happen it is a particularly horrible piece of victimization."

"The news of this decision was considered unfair by a small section of my own branch (the Borough Surveyor's office) who are not pacifist by any means!"

"I might add that those members of the Corporation who are serving (or going to serve) in the armed forces are having their pay made up for them! It's a case of 'Heads I win, tails you lose' so far as the pacifist is concerned."

★ French "Democracy"

THE French Government has decreed that persons found guilty of preparing, supplying, or stocking instruments of Communist propaganda shall be liable to the death penalty.

It is customary in most countries for those found guilty of helping the enemy to be liable to the extreme penalty. That's what war involves. But the French decree means that the mere production or possession of propaganda for a certain point of view is automatically considered as high treason.

What, then, of "democracy" in the land of our ally? Not even in Nazi Germany, so far as my knowledge goes, has the possession of Communist propaganda in itself been made legally punishable by the death penalty.

★ "Misunderstood" by Whom?

THE Archbishop of Canterbury writes in the *Canterbury Diocesan Gazette* on "A National Day of Prayer":—

"I am receiving constant appeals for the appointment of such a day now. Such appeals are very natural, and have my fullest sympathy. I understand that their object is that the State, whether by Royal Proclamation or Order in Council or in some other way, should itself appoint the

day. But if the State is invoked, those who are responsible for its action must be consulted, and they may be obliged to give consideration to other questions than the rightfulness of prayer in itself.

"I have consulted the highest authorities, and I am advised that if at the present juncture the State was to call for a Day of National Prayer, its action would be misunderstood, or rather misrepresented, by the enemy in ways which may be easily imagined.

"On the other hand, there would be no room for such misrepresentations if, following the custom of the last War, the Sunday nearest the anniversary of the outbreak of the war were observed by the nation as a day of prayer. I purpose, therefore, in due course, to consult the leaders of the various Christian Communions as to the appointment of Sunday, September 8, for this purpose. Meanwhile, what could be more fitting than that we should all unite again as last year at Whitsuntide in prayer that the Holy Spirit of God may guide our statesmen and commanders in their great responsibilities, and prepare the way in the minds of all the nations for the coming of justice and of peace?"

★ Put That Fire Out!

THE old comparison between war and a house on fire was made by Mr. Maurice Healy, KC, in a "postscript" to the BBC's 9 p.m. news bulletin on Sunday.

In an endeavour to refute the pacifist case he argued that one does not stop to inquire how the house caught alight, but proceeds first to put the fire out.

What bad logic from a lawyer! As a correspondent writes to point out, war is itself the house on fire; the pacifist's immediate concern is to quench it.

★ All In Good Time!

SIR JOHN SIMON, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will open his Budget on April 22. He will tell us what we have to pay at the moment, but he will not disclose just how much we propose to spend on the war.

For the Treasury announced on February 21 that for 1940 and for the duration of the war provision for the Army, Navy and Air Services, as well as for the Ministry of Supply and certain other services connected with the war, shall be made by a token sum of £100 for each vote. The real reckoning will come later.

When States Fall Like Nine-pins By WILFRED WELLOCK

EDOUARD BENES is so intimately connected with Czecho-Slovakia that it is impossible to think of the one without the other. He more than any other man was responsible for the creation of the Czecho-Slovak State and for its inclusion in the Treaty of Versailles. Masaryk was its spiritual leader, its inspirer, philosopher and guide, but it was Benes who did most of the slogging work so necessary to the creation of a new State. Benes is essentially a diplomatic technician. He is a prodigious worker, thorough, painstaking, constructive and tireless in the pursuit of his objective. The desire to create a Czech State consumed his soul. To that end he was ready to sacrifice everything, the story of his devotion revealing a singleness of purpose rarely surpassed.

Of all the new States set up under the Treaty of Versailles, Czecho-Slovakia was the most successful and stable, and the only one with a democratic constitution. Also, viewed from the outside, it possessed better guarantees for its future than most of its neighbours in that it fitted into the strategic policy of France. Benes summed up the European situation accurately after the conclusion of the World War. He saw that for a long time to come the international situation would be dominated by the Anglo-French Entente. Hence he devoted many years to building up a peace system with the Entente as its corner-stone. As parts of that system he helped to establish the Little Entente and a series of non-aggression Pacts.

But all to no purpose. The unexpected happened. The very corner-stone upon which he had staked all his hopes, gave way, whence his peace system, and with it the product of 25 devoted, self-sacrificing years, collapsed like a house of cards.

The story of the fall of Czecho-Slovakia is one of the most poignant in history, and in a new book, Mr. Godfrey Lias relates it with commendable restraint and skill.

Put not your trust in princes is the advice which forces itself upon the mind as we witness Benes disillusioned, stunned, gazing upon the ruins of a State that had been knocked down overnight, while States in whom he had placed complete confidence raised not a finger to help. It is to the great credit of Benes, and no better testimony could be given to his fine qualities, that since that tragic day he has uttered not one word of condemnation of any State or politician implicated in the fall of Czecho-Slovakia and the collapse of all that he had worked for.

What is the explanation of this debacle? In my opinion Benes made the fatal mistake of thinking that peace and security depended primarily upon machinery rather than upon economic factors, such as the sharing of markets, food and raw material, &c. It was the economic impasse to which a blind capitalism had brought the world in the crisis of 1930/33 which caused the German people, in despair, to put Hitler in power. Confronted with that impasse, no League machinery could function. The triumph of power politics in the economic sphere brought about a situation in which the League and the Little States of Europe began to fall like ninepins. What is more, the latter will go on falling until effective economic reorganization takes place.

It is a tragic and harassing story that is told in these pages. The heroic and the sordid mingle together in distracting confusion. We admire Benes' efforts to convert the League into an effective peace instrument; he was undoubtedly one of the ablest of the men who devoted themselves to that task, but his under-estimation of the importance of the economic factor was an error for which he paid dearly.

Although I have not been able to check up the details of this most interesting record, so far as my memory goes they are correct.

When Benes left Czecho-Slovakia after Munich he came to England, but immediately received an invitation to lecture in Chicago. He accepted with avidity, and with his accustomed thoroughness and regard for detail set to

**Benes of Czecho-Slovakia.* Godfrey Lias. Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d.

work to gather the material for his lectures which have now been published.

The reader is here presented with much valuable material on the political and racial geography of Europe. Few men are more competent to speak about the nations and races of Europe, their history and political background, than Benes. His analyses are in every way excellent, while his knowledge of the Western democracies is almost as unchallengeable as that of the smaller nations, of which he has made a special study. The book also contains a searching analysis of the totalitarian ideologies of Germany, Italy and Russia, along with enlightening comparisons.

However, this book, like Benes' work for European peace, suffers from the major weakness of a wrong appraisal of the relative importance of economic and political factors, which is all the more astonishing in that Benes is a Socialist and familiar with the writings of Marx.

These lectures start with a description of the racial background and the intellectual and political development of modern Europe, pass on to a study of the influence of the World War on European democracy, the causes of the downfall of democracy in the post-War years, and the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations. But I must again stress Benes' astonishing over-emphasis of political factors and his failure to realize the important part played by economic forces in the post-War collapse of democracy in Europe; it is this failure which prevents me from sharing the author's optimism regarding an early return to democratic advance in Europe.

As to the future, I am constrained to quote the words which fell the other day from Jan Masaryk, son of Czecho-Slovakia's first President, and now living in London. He said: "Frankly I am not very much interested in frontiers. I am dreaming of Europe being once more a place fit for human beings to live in. . . . We have over-mechanized ourselves to such an extent that we have forgotten fundamentals. We must save the things which are eternal."

Democracy is decaying because we have become the slaves of money and machines.

† *Democracy Today and Tomorrow.* Edouard Benes. Macmillan. 7s. 6d.

THE WORD

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BOOKS

THEY'RE NOT
ALL BEHIND
HITLER

The German People versus Hitler. By Heinrich Fraenkel. Allen & Unwin, 6s. 6d.

PACIFISTS have for long maintained that if you make war on a nation you marshal its people more unitedly behind their leaders.

Lord Ponsonby, in fact, recently declared that if it had not been for the war the Germans might by now have overthrown Hitler. However that may be, this book shows that even the underground German Opposition—men and women who risk their lives in patiently undermining the régime by unspectacular work—did not want war. The author, an active member of the German Opposition in Britain, describes as "at once the most recent and the most dangerous" of fallacies "the belief that the Opposition welcomed the present war as an indispensable means for the destruction of Hitlerism," and adds:

"Nothing could be further from the truth, and nothing could have been a greater calamity for the Opposition than the present conflict. The difficulties of oppositional work, bad enough at the best of times, are immeasurably increased under war conditions, and what with contacts dislocated by mobilization, surveillance more rigid and punishments more severe than ever, the one and only direct war effect which might be considered an advantage for oppositional work is the black-out—which, from the start, has been widely utilized for putting up anti-Hitler and anti-war slogans.

"Otherwise, at least for a time, the war could be nothing but a severe setback for oppositional work, undoing, overnight as it were, what had been achieved in years of patient plodding..."

Depends on the German People

Herr Fraenkel is insistent that only the Germans themselves can save Germany—though, of course, other Powers can make that task easier or more difficult:

"To put it bluntly: you cannot make Germany safe for democracy by marching the French Army into Cologne; nor could you make the Germans go Bolshevik by marching the Red Army into Breslau. You cannot cure sore flesh by pounding and massaging it. You must give it a chance to heal from inside and grow fresh skin; its own skin!

The greater part of the volume is a documented account of the various organized oppositional forces within the Reich—a record of work much of which called for courage of a high order. Also significant are the many instances of passive resistance, both spontaneous and under the guidance of leaders, by workers, peasants, and others. Here is the method by which, perhaps, the German people would ultimately have rid themselves of their rulers, if we had not interfered.

The author explodes, too, another fallacy which is rapidly gaining ground—the absurd belief that the Germans are inherently brutal and militaristic:

"...there is little room for hatred in the German character; the average German is extremely good-natured and docile, pensive rather than agile, and combining considerable diligence and an orderly practical mind with much sentiment and fondness for metaphysical abstraction. Whatever arrogance there is (a Prussian rather than one of the larger German characteristics) is generally due to what we might call a national inferiority complex."

Our Responsibility

How came such a people to allow the Nazis to rule them? Herr Fraenkel says that had the Western Powers,

"as an act of grace, shown the weak, well-meaning, struggling and far from militant Germany of those years only one tithe of the consideration subsequently shown the Third Reich under duress, or rather under the most impudent bluff and bluster in history, things would have taken a very different turn, and Europe now, instead of heading for catastrophe, would be really appeased."

So it isn't just "that man" who is to blame. One of the too numerous footnotes in this book asserts, in fact, that had Hitler himself not gained power, "given the same political and economic circumstances, some other 'Führer' would have been found to play Hitler's part."

What folly, then, to risk the lives of millions to dethrone a man who has been thrown up by history! Our only hope is to divert the course of history by a wiser and more generous policy. That would hearten the courageous people who must now be wondering whether it is worth while to organize resistance to the Nazis if the only result is to be another treaty drawn up in the spirit of Versailles.

J. W. Cowling

An Open Letter to Middleton Murry

How Will the Pacifist
Revolution Come?

By Ronald Mason

AS one of many young men who will shortly be required to submit to or resist the call to military service, I am addressing this appeal to you for reasons which I will explain in a moment. If you find it presumptuous or irrelevant, I must make my apologies in advance; but I assure you that I am troubling you only because I am obsessed with the urgency of the problem and know that many others like me are just as deeply concerned.

Pacifism is not the problem. That is merely a positive necessity; and, as far as I am concerned, an urgent personal faith that no decision of a tribunal could affect. I am speaking now not for those who are uncertain of their pacifist faith, but for those who, possessing it in themselves, are troubled about the application of it to the society in which they are obliged to live.

Since you, more than any other contemporary pacifist writer, have consistently applied yourself to the problem of the integration of the individual's ideals with the structure of material society, I have ventured to apply to you for a little light on our darkness. Your articles in *Peace News*, your public addresses, and your books have so far carried us a long way—have helped to lay our foundations, or confirmed those already laid; and it is comforting to find one's own conclusions echoing yours. But the trouble is that "conclusions" is the wrong word. We are really only at the beginning, and we are not sure how to go on.

This is where we look to you for help.

You have talked recently of the pacifist revolution that must come, but you have not told us how it is to come. If you believe in it, we should like to know why. This is demanded in a spirit not of scepticism but of inquiry; we who are to form part of the revolution if it comes at all simply ask for guidance. We have the faith, we hope; now how are we to use it?

A successful revolution needs more than a collection of faithful souls; to make ours succeed we must counter the prevailing dynamism of destruction with the stronger dynamism of—what are we to call it?—love? A few thousand pacifists alone do not make a pacifist revolution, but the same few thousand pacifists plus the dynamism may change the world.

I believe you can help to show us where this dynamism is to be found. Perhaps you will say it must be discovered by each one of us for himself; but if that is so, would not the central inspiration common to all the great religions be lacking? Perhaps you will say it was all laid down in storage two thousand years ago; then, if so, how is it to be liberated? But, whatever you say, we are anxious to hear it.

You have approached pacifism in your writings, from the historical angle as well as from the personal, and your grasp on the lessons of the past gives us confidence in your ability to apply them to the future. Therefore what you have to say is of great importance to us, who may constitute the vanguard of the pacifist revolution; and that is why I ask for a word from you today. You have taken us so far, and we are one with you in our faith, but there you have stopped. If you could tell us how to go on now, our strength would be renewed.

I am aware that I may be hurrying you unnecessarily; that the key to our ultimate duty may be implicit in such faith as we may already feel; and, more, that it is your habit to work out your theories as you go along, so that your writings are not so much a succession of completed tasks as a continuous record of the evolution of your mind. It may be that you have not yet reached the final stage in your approach to the present problem. But if you have, we feel that it is our right to hear your solution.

It is a vital present-day problem. It is more than just refusing to fight; it is more than proclaiming the pacifist faith, however vociferously. It is nothing less than the ordering of our lives in contemporary society in such a way that our own and following generations may be conditioned for peace—a profound and pervading peace, not an exhaustion between wars.

Only you, and some like you, can hint at the manner of this ordering. Is it too much to ask you to give us this help now—to indicate what we are to do, and where to get the power to do it—so that our faith may not wither for the lack of works to exercise itself upon?

I do not mean to constitute you a prophet against your will; and after all, the major responsibility will ultimately be ours. But I am merely seeking help from one much older and wiser than I, whose written words I have long known and trusted. And I have chosen to make this letter public rather than private because I feel that my difficulties are shared widely by others like me, and I am certain that any reply that you make will benefit them as well as me.

[We hope to publish a reply from Mr. Murry in a future issue.—Ed.]

C. F. ANDREWS

"If ever there was a man of peace, it was C. F. Andrews," writes Miss Agatha Harrison, who knew him intimately, in sending us news of his death in Calcutta on April 5, at the age of 69.

The Rev. Charles Freer Andrews, known and loved by many thousands, if not millions, of people as perhaps the best friend of India in this country, had been actively associated with Mr. Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore (the venerable Indian poet) since before the last war. He had been a member of the latter's ashram at Santiniketan, Bengal, ever since 1913.

In the interests of Indians he travelled twice to South Africa, twice to Fiji, and to British Guiana, as well as representing those interests in England and, indeed, wherever he went. Among his many books were a number dealing with Indian problems and personalities, but perhaps his best-known work in this country was *What I Owe to Christ*.

A memorial service will be held at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London, at 12.30 p.m. today (Friday), and a public meeting of remembrance at Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1, at 5.30 p.m.

Towards
the A.G.M.

By RICHARD BISHOP

THE question is quite clear to my mind. We are now facing a crucial decision. Is the Union to accept as its function the creation of a real and true conviction for peace, or, on the other hand, are we to spend our energies seeking to arouse a reaction to war?

I sometimes fear that we have succumbed to the latter course, and that we are shouting: "Stop the War," in a chorus hardly distinguished from Fascists or Communists. It is my profound conviction that, though this state of war might be interrupted by some doubtful political manoeuvre, yet peace will only come when we, individually and in concert, renounce war, and go further, and desire both peace and the things that make for it.

To me this is of necessity a deeply personal matter; and now, the task we have accepted can only be accomplished on the basis of personal and individual witness.

It may be interesting to note that in Wales the proportion of young men who have consecrated themselves to positive peace-making, by taking the step of registering as COs, is almost twice as great as in the rest of the country. It is of further interest to know that the mass method has had a very small part in the work in Wales. In the small villages on the mountain-sides and in the valleys, particularly in rural Wales, there have sprung into being groups of "Heddychwyr Cymru," which being translated, means the proud claim: "Peacemakers of Wales."

It would be fair to say that these groups are often the result of the courageous personal witness of one, frequently a minister, or some other respected member of their community. They have not known much of propaganda in its accepted sense, but because they have heard a declaration of standard, they have accepted it for themselves and accepted with it renunciation of war and their responsibility for creating peace.

I hope that the Union at the AGM will see clearly its responsibility for furthering this work of personalization, by granting all possible aid to advance the work within the regions; and that it will take an especial care for those who are already involved in sacrifice and need by reason of their registration as COs.

To those of us who will in time join them, I would venture to suggest that we keep constantly

(Continued on page 7)

MATTER FOR
REJOICING

We don't believe in boasting, but we are going to set down two interesting facts which we think give us cause for self-congratulation; and in that "self" we include you who have appreciated and supported our aims.

First, we have almost doubled our membership since the beginning of 1940. That people see the importance of maintaining positive constructive enterprise in the hard days of war is a tribute both to the nation and (it must be conceded) to its administrators.

For our other fact, we record with great satisfaction that the Presidency of St. Pancras Building Society has been accepted by Mr. George Lansbury as "Who's Who" doubtless describes him, the Right Hon. George Lansbury, P.C., M.P. We are sure our members and depositors will join the directors in welcoming our new President, whose noble efforts in the cause of peace have earned him high fame throughout the world.

And now: on with the work! Our service to investors remains second to none. Shares are £10 each; they can be withdrawn at any time on short notice, without cost; and they yield three-and-a-half per cent. free of tax. For further details you are invited to write for a copy of the Society's free "Guide for Investors."

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JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY:

Let Us Admit Our Share of Guilt!

FOR once I am not going to write as a pacifist, but simply as a very imperfect Christian who is joined in a close bond of friendship with other Christians who find themselves unable to take the pacifist stand. I am concerned with the case put forward by Christian leaders for the stubborn prosecution of the war "against Hitlerism." This case, as I have seen it presented, is unworthy of Christianity. It is shallow and self-righteous; it lacks depth and humility.

The only presentation of the Allied case which is tolerable to the Christian imagination is one which frankly acknowledges the scandalous offence, not only against Christian standards of international conduct but against the standards of elementary human decency and justice, of our behaviour towards Germany at the end of the last war. Unless it proceeds from such an act of public contrition and repentance, the profession that we are now fighting in a Christian cause seems to me completely hollow.

Our Responsibility

It is the absolute duty of those Christian leaders who support the war—ecclesiastical and political alike—to acknowledge that we are largely responsible for the appalling aberration of Nazi Germany. Only if we create among ourselves the clear consciousness that we, equally though not contemporaneously with Nazi Germany, bear the guilt of the present condition of internecine warfare in Europe, and only if we retain that consciousness undimmed, can there be any true hope of arresting the swift process of moral degeneration which has raged on unchecked in Europe since 1914.

If such a lively consciousness of our own partnership in guilt with Germany were to be created, then it would be possible—indeed, it would be inevitable—that our statesmen should conceive this unholy struggle as the common tragedy of European man. And that way of conceiving the struggle is necessary.

Not only is it necessary in order to maintain a truly Christian vision of the human situation today, and to prevent that terrible

prostitution of Christian loyalty to subserve the basest ends of nationalism which corrupts Christianity and makes it incapable of gaining the hearts of men. It is necessary for practical political reasons also: because only if such a conception of the struggle prevails can the disintegration of Europe be checked. On the prevalence of this fundamental conception depends the possibility of establishing any kind of just international order. The idea that Germany can again be treated as a vile inferior in the society of nations will be quite fatal to what remains of European civilization.

Intolerable Idea

Yet that idea, in the atmosphere of moral degeneration which is inevitably produced by actual war, is steadily gaining ground. By Christian standards it is an intolerable idea. By pragmatic political standards it is a disastrous one.

It will nerve Germany to endure the utmost hardship to resist to the last; rather than surrender to it she will pull the fabric of Europe down with her. It will weaken the moral conviction of Britain, and ex-

clude from all effective influence in her counsels those capable of the long and imaginative view. I have no doubt whatever that, if this idea prevails, the expectation that we shall win the war will never be realized. We shall lose the war instead, and we shall deserve to lose it.

Our one chance of winning this war is to win it as a Christian nation. If we are capable of becoming a Christian nation, in the very limited but crucial sense of becoming a nation guided by a Christian vision of the horror of the human situation and a Christian consciousness of our own direct share of the responsibility for it, then we become capable of winning this war in the only way it can conceivably be won.

And that kind of victory is possible only if we declare that we are ready at all times to conclude a just peace, and if we make quite clear to Germany and the neutrals the terms on which we are prepared to conclude it. Lord Halifax speaks of the necessity of "shaming the doctrine of force." Is the doctrine of force shamed by military defeat?

Recessional

A new hymn by the famous conductor of the Orpheus Choir, who is one of Scotland's foremost pacifists.

*Unto all who fought the fight,
'Gainst the foes of truth and right,
'Gainst the pride and power of might,
Let us homage bring!*

*They who suffered, they who died,
Deeming truth their only guide,
Scourged, derided, crucified,
Let us honour bring!*

*To the sages, to the seers,
To the nameless down the years,
Prophets, pilgrims, pioneers,
Let us tribute bring!*

*For the battle thus begun,
Rights and freedom dearly won,
Here, until our race be run—
Let us praises bring!*

*Unto all who fought the fight,
Unto all who, in the night,
Battled bravely towards the light—
Let hosannas ring!*

Hugh S. Robertson

Our Patience will Achieve More Than Our Force . . . says PHILIP S. MUMFORD

M R. GANDHI recently told Congress that he refused to be hustled. It is only too easy for young movements to rush into situations where they are compelled to take action before they are equipped to do so and frequently when action can only lead into increasingly difficult and tortuous ways.

The temptation to take action prematurely is hard to resist, for the demand for action is always voiced by a movement's most ardent, and probably therefore its most desirable, members.

There are two very different sections in the Peace Pledge Union, the religious and the political, which take it in turn to urge upon the whole movement the need for dynamic policies—is the Begin-the-War campaign in France and Britain analogous?—and both are likely to make their voices heard at the Annual General Meeting.

Union For All

There are some within the movement who have always been doubtful whether these two could be run in double harness, but, without underrating the difficulties, I have never been one of their number. Dick Sheppard, whose pacifism was wholly based on Christianity, founded the Peace Pledge Union for all pacifists, and he himself showed not only an intellectual respect for but an emotional understanding of the viewpoint of those pacifists who were not Christians that few of us are able to attain, but which made possible the great unity that does already exist in the PPU.

Nevertheless, it is not easy for these two sections to work together and each must make tremendous efforts to be tolerant.

Up to a year ago it seemed that the political section was dominating the movement and as a result the movement came near to losing many valuable members whose pacifism was not political. During the last few months, however, the scale has been weighted on the other side and the PPU appears to ask for spiritual regeneration. Once again it is time to remind ourselves that the PPU is a union of all pacifists and that therein lies its strength and its importance.

A FEW days ago I heard Canon Marriott, of Westminster Abbey, tell this story. The devil visited New York and was walking up Broadway with a publisher. Suddenly they saw an ideal floating in the air. Before the devil had time to do anything a politician who happened to be passing on a bus seized it. The publisher asked the devil "Now what will you do?" The politician has caught that ideal. "Oh, that's all right," the devil replied, "I shall just get him to organize it."

This story, I believe, has a moral for the PPU as it prepares for the Annual General Meeting. I am not saying that I think those who want to put the PPU on a religious

basis are wrong; I do ask them to ponder this story. The religious basis of a movement is not something constructed by headquarters, but rather something that exists in the individual lives of its members. Let the members be the basis of the PPU.

The Real Task

Few would dispute that mankind needs spiritual regeneration, but this does not alter the fact that the task of the PPU is, as I have said before, to bring pacifism to the people rather than the people to pacifism. If we have to wait for international sanity until we are all embryo saints then the outlook is dark indeed.

Is it not possible that the problem for the PPU is not so much to make people better or to create super-men as to awaken in them an understanding of the true situation and the will to build a new order? If wars were the result of deliberate savagery or sin, professional soldiers would be fiercer and more brutal than the rest of the community.

Statistics of murder or assault, however, do not especially incriminate the British Legion nor is there any evidence that wife-beating is more prevalent amongst retired Colonels and Sergeant-Majors than amongst linen drapers or ploughmen. Moral regeneration is necessary, but it will not come through attempts to hustle the movement into asceticism, mysticism or any other supernatural state.

I KNOW that many in the PPU are often impatient with me because it always seems to be my fate to urge the middle course. I remain convinced that we have got to be simple, uncomplicated, content to appeal in plain language to the coal-heaver, the waitress, the shop-assistant—the people whose consciences already revolt against the brutality and folly of war, but who have been blinded by the complex prejudices which have become built up into our civilization.

Do not let us make the issues more involved and obscure by trying to re-mould each other according to our particular heart's desire.

That is my first point; that our movement must be a movement of the common people or it will fail. And, secondly, do let us beware of the devil in Canon Marriott's story. How many movements the devil has wrecked by this tactic! Indeed, how few has he failed to wreck! How many idealistic organizations have survived the tussle for supremacy between the good and the clever? The ideals themselves may even be discredited, whilst the movements so auspiciously founded to advance them have floundered in ignominy. Thirdly, we must not forget that organized religion may easily become a way of escape from, rather than an approach to, reality and truth.

For these reasons I hope that the delegates to the Annual General Meeting will not come seeking a leader nor demanding of headquarters a philosophy of life nor a tabulated programme of action. There is plenty of scope for action in helping pacifists both within and without the movements; much to be done in making ourselves efficient and knowledgeable so that we may each make our individual contribution to the co-operative effort for peace as valuable as possible.

Thus the gap between pacifists and non-pacifists will decrease and not increase. We shall become not a small but superior minority in a world of militarists, but merely part of the majority who are seeking, in diverse ways, for sanity and peace. The simpler we are, the less organized and therefore the less rigid, the greater will be our appeal in a distraught and complicated world, and that means patience! "Whosoever hath not patience, neither doth he possess philosophy."

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NEWS OF OBJECTORS

Why Fewer C.O.s in the Older Age Groups?

MORE ABSOLUTISTS LIKELY

THE 4,431 conscientious objectors who registered on Saturday bring the total number of COs up to 25,171. Late registrations and those received by post, will alter this figure slightly.

But they are not likely to alter the percentage of COs—this time 1.41 percent. This is the lowest percentage of any registration day since conscription was introduced. In the earlier age groups there were about two COs in every hundred men registered.

Refusals to register may account for a small part of this decline. For the rest, an explanation may be found in the fact that the age groups now being called up include more married men with children, for whom circumstances make it harder to stand as objectors.

Against this may be set the fact that those who have registered as COs are more likely to have held pacifist views for several years. The smaller percentage may therefore be offset by a higher percentage of absolutists and by a greater ability among applicants in presenting their cases before

tribunals. An analysis of tribunals' proceedings a few months hence may confirm this.

Those who registered on Saturday were men who reached the age of 20 between March 10 and April 6, 1940, and men who reached the age of 25 during 1939. An analysis of the figures for England, Scotland, and Wales, gives the following result:

England: 3,662 COs out of 267,547 men who registered.

Scotland: 469 out of 31,416.

Wales: 300 out of 15,467.

On April 27 those who reached the age of 26 during 1939, as well as those who will have reached the age of 20 since Saturday, will be required to register.

What's the Reason?

Managers of Labour Exchanges were told by the Ministry of Labour in connexion with last Saturday's registration that they could divulge to the Press the total number registered, but not the number of CO's. The number of CO's will be announced from the Area Office, and presumably will be given for the Area and not separated into the different localities. What's the reason?

(During the last war conscientious objectors numbered about 16,000.)

New Tribunal Is Stiff Test

THE new Reading Tribunal, which sat for the first time on Friday, is a stiff test for the conscientious objector (writes an observer). Judge Maurice N. Dracquer wants COs to give definite evidence as to the strength of their conscience, particularly in the case of religious objectors.

After one applicant had made what seemed a genuine case on Christian grounds, citing the Sermon on the Mount among other quotations, the Judge commented that ninety percent of the people of the country agreed with what he said, but that did not help him in deciding the applicant's conscience.

Of the six cases dealt with while this observer was present two were given non-combatant work, one forestry, one complete exemption and two were struck off the register.

It was noticeable that objectors were not members of peace movements, and the Judge also evidently had not much faith in religious objectors who did not attend church.

This observer would suggest that objectors who disagree with the Tribunal's decision should say so at once, and state that they are appealing. When applicants have made out a case for complete exemption and then meekly accept alternative service—or so it seems because they do not say at once they are appealing—the impression given is that the pacifist conviction is not strongly held. This, of course, only applies to objectors who have decided before hand that they will appeal if the decision is not the one they want.

Other members of the Tribunal are Major J. H. Simonds—who asked "What would you do if a German entered your home?"—Mr. L. Sutton and Mr. C. G. Davis all Reading residents. The objectors on Friday were all from Reading.

The cases are heard at 32 Thorn Street (rear of Methodist Church, Friar Street) not far from Reading Town Station.

Reading Advisory Bureau will provide hospitality, and COs should communicate with Mignon Castle, Reckitt House, Leighton Park, Reading.

OUR Birmingham observer reports that a member of the Peace Pledge Union was asked by the Midland Tribunal what he did for the good of his fellow men—"something that does more for your fellow men than the PPU."

Though the remark showed a surprising insensitivity to the motive that inspired the founder of the PPU, and that actuates most of its active members, it nevertheless constitutes a challenge that members might do well to consider.

Check on C.O.s

The Minister of Labour has issued instructions instituting a system of checking compliance with orders of Tribunals directing conscientious objectors to take up specific civilian work, and statistics will be kept. Where COs are found not to be taking reasonable steps to obtain the work specified, the cases will be referred by the Ministry to the local Tribunals.

Leaflets for Objectors

The prices of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors' leaflets given last week should have been as follows:

"To Those Who are Registering as COs," price 6d. per 100.
"To COs Placed on the Military Service Register," price 1s. per 1,000.
"To COs Wishing to Appeal," price 1s. per 100.

Facts and Figures

TO meet the many requests for facts and figures bearing on questions of peace and war, we are starting this "Information Column," which we hope to add to the regular services offered to our 33,000 readers.

The difficulty has always been, not to provide the information but to know what facts and figures will be of greatest use to readers. Since this feature is designed specially to help you, therefore, we earnestly ask our readers

1. To send us the facts and figures they themselves have found most useful, in order to share them with others;

2. To ask us for the facts and figures they are most anxious to know, so that this column may serve its purpose.

Spent on Arms

This week's information concerns Great Britain's armaments expenditure since 1912, with the exception, of course, of the war years.

Year	Totals	Year	Totals
	£		£
1912	72,956,307	1929	113,315,210
1913	77,098,723	1930	109,538,551
1919	620,201,716	1931	106,863,429
1920	277,609,717	1932	102,737,758
1921	175,245,827	1933	107,325,688
1922	116,372,495	1934	113,381,318
1923	110,576,866	1935	137,000,000
1924	113,374,756	1936	186,000,000
1925	109,530,766	1937	283,000,000
1926	115,338,800	1938	406,000,000
1927	116,467,966	1939	580,000,000
1928	113,673,978		

Except for those for the last five years, these figures are taken from *Hansard* for July 21, 1936. The round figures for the years 1935-1939 were published in the *Manchester Guardian* on February 15, 1939, and in the case of the last two years, of course, are the Estimates, not the final figures.

TWO NEW FEATURES

Peace News Summary

DESPITE the war there is still a large body of peace opinion in the land. What are these people thinking, saying, and doing?

The readers' symposium "On Stopping the War and Making Peace" which we published a fortnight ago, as well as the correspondence which has followed it, gives some idea.

In this new feature we shall try to indicate the trend of that peace opinion from week to week, particularly as it is expressed in resolutions and statements which result from the thrashing out of current problems in discussions and meetings all over the country.

For example the Maidenhead group of the Peace Pledge Union held a meeting last week at which members were invited to submit, what, in their opinion, were the twelve most essential points which could be used as a basis for a new world order. The suggestions were awarded marks by those present. Afterwards there was a general discussion in an endeavour to find out from the points submitted the twelve favourites. Here they are:

1. Armistice now;
2. Removal of trade barriers with free access to raw materials;
3. Renunciation of imperialism;
4. Colonial possessions and Mandates to be surrendered to an international commission. Adequate provision to be made for subject races to administer their own territory with all necessary assistance from other countries;
5. Education in the duties and responsibilities of world citizenship;
6. Restoration of money as a means of exchange;
7. Production for use not for profit;
8. Fuller use to be made of instruments such as the International Labour Office and other bodies attached to the League which deal with refugees or war victims or other humanitarian services;
9. Establishment of an international court of justice on a much wider basis than the present one;
10. Abandonment of national sovereignty;
11. Disarmament all round; and
12. The new order to be built on a basis of co-operation and service, respecting religious and intellectual liberty, solving outstanding problems from the human standpoint with adequate machinery to effect all changes peacefully substituting stewardship for ownership of the world's resources.

A new international order also figures prominently in a pamphlet which the National Peace Council is publishing. It is a reproduction

WHAT PACIFISM IMPLIES

PPU National Council Statement

AT its meeting at the International Hostel, Sydenham Hill, last weekend, the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union approved the following memorandum from its Forethought Committee:—

The Forethought Committee has endeavoured in a series of affirmations and explanatory pamphlets to express the corporate mind of the PPU in regard to the real meaning of pacifism, which involves much more than a renunciation of war. The Committee is agreed on the necessity of maintaining a constant opposition to war and totalitarianism, and of regarding a negotiated peace as the only hope of establishing conditions of freedom and justice. We must be ready to seize any new opportunity for negotiation which may arise. The Forethought Committee believes that it is now necessary to challenge the PPU to consider anew:—

- (a) The implications of pacifism in social life;
- (b) The discipline which pacifism must involve for individuals.

The primary duty of the pacifist movement is to make itself fit to play its part in the creation of a new social order, to deepen the social and political consciousness of its members, and to create that human fellowship which is the only sure foundation of true democracy. The moral discipline needed must be conceived under both theoretical and practical aspects, which cannot be dissociated. The theoretical discipline involves the effort to achieve a fuller awareness of the total situation, and the realization of our own inescapable implications in the activities of a social system which makes inevitably for war. The practical discipline includes a rigorous self-criticism, an effort to purify our own ways of living, and to contribute our utmost to the movement for which each member must now recognize a fuller and more personal responsibility.

The most urgent of our immediate tasks is to expose and to resist the moral degradation caused by the economical and social conditions of existing society and accentuated by war. The expression of this resistance should be an integral part of any propaganda for an immediate peace.

The full extent of the nature and demands of the pacifist revolution can only be discovered by living our pacifism; and that involves a moral and religious discovery. It is not sufficient for us to talk in terms of "socialism," unless we have considered how far existing conceptions of socialism have become meaningless and therefore invalid in such rapidly changing conditions. It is indeed imperative that the movement shall pass beyond the prevalent conception of "socialism." Pacifism differs essentially from much that calls itself "socialism," partly because the pacifist cannot regard the villain of the piece as existing only outside himself and partly because the content of socialism must include social elements and fellowship. We must understand that our first duty is to realize among ourselves the human relations of the new order we hope to establish. The revolution must therefore begin within the individual and within the movement. By our example we may hope to secure in every section of the community an increasingly wide measure of understanding consent for a peaceful social revolution. A just social order cannot be established by power politics.

The more we create in ourselves a new "awareness," the more readily will each individual discover for himself what he should do. Since true thinking is an essential preliminary to right doing, the Committee suggests that it is necessary to discover what are the religious, political, economic and cultural implications of pacifism, and they propose to arrange for a series of pamphlets under these heads.

In the meantime they would draw attention to

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Resist Conscription NOW

AUBREY BUFTON'S article raises a fundamental issue which takes on a new and more urgent significance as the war progresses.

Firstly, it is becoming increasingly clear that the closer our ties to France become, so much the less chance is there of freeing ourselves, even at the close of the war, from some form of the Military Training Act. That much is apparent from several recent utterances in high places.

Pacifists of foresight will therefore ask whether we must not begin now the struggle against military conscription as such, doing all in our power, in war as in peace, to make such an Act unworkable. Refusal to register is one effective form of passive resistance; and to those who (like myself) have already registered, there is the additional privilege of returning our Tribunal summons to the Minister of Labour with a letter openly stating our reasons for refusing to comply therewith.

There is the further point that the latest analysis of Tribunal decisions proves how the number of unconditional exemptions is rapidly on the down-grade. Is it not time we took the struggle into the enemy's camp and stood together in a mass denial of the authority of these unsatisfactory tribunals, risking thereby arrest and imprisonment, but with our ranks united in a common action?

For the sake of the "twenties" of the future, I am myself resolved to take this stronger line. I should appreciate the views of other readers, and especially of other COs similarly placed, either in these columns or to me personally, c/o Peace News.

A REGIONAL SECRETARY.

*This is only one of a considerable number of letters that have been received (mostly too late for publication) expressing agreement with the point of view contained in Mr. Bufton's article.—Ed

Unwilling Conscription

I have just read Pierre Van Paassen's Autobiography:—*The Days of our Years*, in which occurs a passage "Many men join the army in war-time not because they want to, but through inability of the individual to resist the pressure of society."

This probably explains why many would-be conscientious objectors join the army under compulsion.

JOHN RICHES.

"Woodlands," Ruffetts Close, South Croydon, Surrey.

Capitalism

R. J. Campbell and those other pacifists who maintain that the present capitalist system contains the roots of warfare are in the difficult position of having to answer facts provided by many eminent writers such as Sir Norman Angell, which are in direct opposition to their assertions.

Many readers of Peace News believe that as it has been demonstrated that peace can be achieved and maintained between States which are "capitalist," and that it is just as possible for a socialist State to develop acute nationalism and to adopt war as an instrument of national policy as a State which is capitalist. The question of capitalism is largely irrelevant in any discussion on the causes of war, and that Peace News should, as Donald Lambourne says, become more of an open forum rather than the mouthpiece of a rather vociferous section of its supporters.

T. G. AYRE.

445 Moor Green Lane, Moseley, Birmingham, 13

Here is a point of immediate importance, and I should be interested to know whether any economist of Conservative convictions can avoid the obvious implication:—

(a) We cannot expect Germany to accept a Peace Plan which does not include fairly generous colonial concessions of one kind or another.

(b) Since the financial interest in the colonies is the concern of the capitalist section of our community, such concessions will be strenuously opposed by them.

(c) Is a Conservative Government likely to over-rule such opposition and (in the interests of permanent peace) to deny to private individuals or companies the right of exploitation, expansion of markets, &c.?

C. H. PARKINSON.

Mottingham Lane, London, S.E.9.

Cheap Labour

In reply to J. Dennis's query as to whether there is "some other way" of getting rid of exploitation of cheap (coloured) labour. I say "yes"—get rid of land monopoly!

The one cause of cheap labour is the fact that wherever land is privately owned, the worker is unable to employ himself without first paying a landowner for the right to use the earth. He is thus left with no alternative but to sell his labour to a landowner or to one who can afford to rent and (i.e. to a "Capitalist").

It is a fact that the natives of S. Africa were forced into the gold mines by taking their tribal lands from them, thus leaving them no alternative but to go down the mines or starve.

G. D. McKELLEN.

35 Beresford Crescent, Newcastle, Staffs.

Your correspondent, Mr. J. Dennis, seems to me to have accurately analyzed the moral issue underlying imperialism.

There is much more in "community" than voluntarily accepting a lower standard of living "to be fair to the natives," but all the same it does seem to the small group just starting out here that a lowered standard of life will be necessary in the period of transition, or liquidation

(of empire) and that community is an excellent way of developing those qualities necessary to such a readjustment.

JACK REYNOLDS.

Cainhoe Community, Clophol, Bedford.

Other Men's Jobs

I am registered conditionally as a CO, the condition being that I should do agriculture or forestry work.

There happens to be at this farm, only one man who is eligible for conscription. The other night he said to me, "Do you realize that if I register in June and the military authorities will not exempt me as a farm worker, you will be taking my job away from me?"

His explanation was as follows: Should this war last for a year, I will by that time be quite competent at my job, and when this young fellow is demobilized from the army, he will come back to this farm for his old job, and in all probability the farmer would refuse to dismiss me to take him back.

I would suggest that all COs should be engaged only as temporary farm workers, and that a Bill should be passed in Parliament, whereby all farm-workers participating in military duties should have their jobs guaranteed by the farmer.

P. L. POLLANTINE.

Holiwell Farm, Burnham-on-Crouch, Essex.

Facts

*As some of your readers may possibly have seen a report of a Peace Meeting in the Daily Mail, in which I was described as "of the Peace Pledge Union," I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I sent immediately to the Editor of the Daily Mail.

HUGH ROSS WILLIAMSON.

London, S.W.1.

The letter was as follows:—

In your report of the Marquess of Tavistock's meeting in your issue of April 4, your reporter makes three statements about me, all of which are untrue.

(1) I am not a member of the Peace Pledge Union and said so.

(2) I did not say that I "believed the Nazi version of the Athenia sinking." For one thing, I do not know what the official German version is. What I quoted was the findings of the official fifteen-weeks-long American inquiry, which established, after the examination of 250 witnesses, that the Athenia was not torpedoed.

(3) I did not "praise the chivalry of the Altmark crew." I quoted a letter from one of the Altmark prisoners (which had already appeared in at least two places in the English press) denying all allegations of German

"brutality" and pointing out that the mere fact of 350 men having survived, with no deaths and no illness to detain them more than 48 hours in hospital, three months, first in the tropics and then in the Arctic circle in winter, was in itself evidence of the quality of their treatment.

Early Christian Pacifism

A point which I think we, as pacifists, should stress more than we do is the essentially pacific nature of the Christian Church and its doctrines in early times. For the first three centuries of the Christian era, Christianity was based definitely upon pacifist principles, and the early Christians condemned homicide of any kind.

"The sanctity which they attached to the life of every human being led to a total condemnation of warfare, sharply contrasting with the prevailing sentiment in the Roman Empire. In accordance with the general spirit of their religion, as also with special passages in the Bible, they considered war unlawful in all circumstances" (Westermarck: *Christianity and Morals*).

The following passage in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, one of the earliest statements of Christian faith, is significant. Discussing who may be admitted to the Christian faith, he says: "A soldier of the civil authority must be taught not to kill men and to refuse to do so if he is commanded, and to refuse to take an oath; if he is unwilling to comply, he must be rejected. If a catechumen (new convert) or a believer seeks to become a soldier, they must be rejected, for they have despised God."

The importance of this work lies in the fact that it was not written in any controversial vein: Hippolytus was merely stating the tradition of the Christian Church and the practice of his times. In the words of his translator "they represent the normal practices at Rome." That this is so is corroborated by other early Christian fathers, notably Tertullian, who describes similar practices. Lactantius asserts that "to engage in war cannot be lawful for the righteous man, whose warfare is that of righteousness itself."

Indeed it was not until the era of Constantine, when the Church came into close relation with the State, that, forgetting the teachings of Christ it became perverted from its faith and gradually gave up its attitude towards war.

J. L. HOBBS.

Melton Avenue, Derby.

Points from Letters

IS WAR NATURAL?

I cannot advise Mr. David R. Roberts as to whether he should trust in H. G. Wells or W. J. Perry—I do suggest, however, that further reading in the works of Dr. Perry, Prof. Elliot Smith and other "diffusionists" will prove helpful to him and all pacifists who wish to reconcile their faith with the oft-quoted "facts" of the kindred

sciences of biology, anthropology, pre-history and history.

For further information on behaviour among men "in a state of nature," and in the animal world, may I also recommend that 40-year-old masterpiece, Prince Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*.

GODFREY L. BODEN.

69 Stechford Road, Ward End, Birmingham, 8.

YOUTH AND PEACE

I read with great interest the article entitled "Youth Works for Peace," which appeared in the December 15, 1939, issue of *Peace News*. I congratulate these youth who are going onward—to a new day—in spite of obstacles in their path. Surely such heroism will have its reward by having a peace department, eventually, in all governments of democratic countries. I am a member of the Secretary of Peace League of New York, which is endeavouring to create such a department, headed by a Secretary of Peace.

IRENE HANISCH, New York.

BRITISH PEOPLE'S PARTY

Lord Tavistock writes "neither I nor any of my colleagues in the British People's Party have the slightest sympathy with the objectionable features of totalitarian governments." As I have been given to understand that Jews are not admitted as members of the BPP, I'm wondering if some people would not consider this one of the objectionable features as mentioned above?

FLORA COLLAR, Boston, Lincs.

Study Conference in Holland

In Holland a committee has been formed by a number of persons who may be looked upon as representing various shades of opinion in the peace movement in the widest sense, but who do not sit upon the committee as representatives of organizations. They considered it their duty, in the midst of the tumult of war, not to remain inactive, but to face the problem how, on basis of study of past and present, the disposition to a future peace, a peace by reconciliation of the peoples, is to be thought out and built up. On April 12, 13 and 14, this committee organizes in The Hague a Study Conference devoted to the "Principles of International Co-operation, directed at a permanent peace."

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<p>C.O., 23, conditional exemption, requires work, London district preferred, not essential; humanitarian, agriculture, horticulture, ambulance work. Clerical and musical experience. Good references.—Box 399, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p>EXEMPTED CO (22) urgently requires agriculture work; inexperienced, do anything. Hard worker, reliable.—Reuben, 37 St. Lukes Road, London, W.11.</p> <p>EX-MUSEUM WORKER fifteen years varied secretarial experience, adaptable, energetic.—Mavis Cooke, 10 Woodville Road, Cardiff.</p> <p>INCORPORATED ACCOUNTANT (22), married, seeks position anywhere; excellent references; competent, efficient; unconditionally exempt, expecting dismissal.—Box 394, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p>PACIFIST, married, wants permanent farm work; some knowledge; able driver; small wage.—Box 398, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p>PACIFIST (22), tall, healthy, seeks any position demanding intelligence. Preferably Bristol, West-Country, London. Varied education. Experience photography (Guilds Certificate); office work.—Box 397, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p>YOUNG ADVERTISING MAN (C.O.), 23, experience print production, buying selling, layout, estimating, &c., requires post printer of advertiser.—Box 400, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p>TYPEWRITING.</p> <p>FIRST-CLASS TYPEWRITING and duplicating.—Mabel Eyles, 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24. Brixton 2863.</p> <p>WHERE TO STAY</p> <p>DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600 ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central heating. H. and c. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars Crich, Matlock. Station: Ambergate (L.M.S.). Tel: Ambergate 44.</p> <p>IN THE "VALLEY OF PEACE" Guest House that provides an escape from war atmosphere. Vegetarian Food Reform table. Log fires. Beautiful setting near Beech Woods. Tariff from proprietors: "Fortune's Well," Sheepscombe, Stroud, Glos.</p> <p>LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B., 5s.; double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Tel. 3572.</p> <p>YOUTH HOUSE. Residential and Social centre for progressive youth. Vegetarian restaurant, lectures, dances, language classes, rambles, &c. Internationalism and fellowship in active communal life. Single bed-sitting-rooms, 15s. per week.—Apply Secretary, 250 Camden Road, N.W.1. Gulliver 5189.</p>	<p>Other man Council inc. Members have joined. Pacifist S. reported that trained for f. A.G.M. Ag. the final age ing, and it meeting that for delegate should apply lutions. An appointed to making efficient disc Finance.—A to form a cor purpose of p which could behalf of the of the desira with subscri which had b referred bac further repor being made to ence to the E Sir Richar that he had nexion with point of view to keep in co</p>
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IF THE SPIRIT IS WILLING—

By John Barclay

LEADERSHIP in a democratic movement depends on the willing co-operation of the rank and file. It is not a question of votes and obedience, nor is there any chance of success unless the movement is permeated with the spirit of good will and mutual trust. Any attempt to impose conditions from above or to sabotage from below smashes the delicate balance which is a necessity of the human relationship called Democracy.

The bond that holds us together is a spirit and once this is allowed to evaporate the movement falls to pieces. Each member of a democratic movement is responsible for the maintenance of the balance. At the present moment when there seems to be the possibility of a complete breakdown of democracy in Europe it is more than ever important for us to safeguard the spirit which is the essence of the Peace Pledge Union.

The faith of pacifism depends very largely on the imaginative understanding possessed by individuals one toward another. Criticism is necessary and desirable, but the first essential is for us to realize that we are not a commercial organization and that the results are not shown on the balance sheet.

With the steady deterioration of the situation in Europe the pacifist position be-

comes increasingly difficult to maintain. It can be maintained if the spirit which unites us is given complete freedom.

There will be a great opportunity to test the strength of this at the coming Annual General Meeting.

Whatever the difference within our ranks, there can be no disunity if the prevailing atmosphere of the conference is one of mutual respect and friendship. There are sure to be some who believe in going slow and others who will press for direct action. We shall need all the wisdom we possess, and much more besides, if we are to grope our way to an understanding beyond the reach of those who would destroy.

If we can sink personal and parochial differences in the common desire to find a way out of the present tragic muddle, we shall find a new inspiration and a new sense of fellowship for the work which lies ahead.

The spirit of the Peace Pledge Union is capable of rising to great heights and lifting with it those who are lost in a wilderness of doubt and despair. Let us see to it that political and religious differences are resolved; that petty differences are smoothed out and by keeping our sense of humour not lose our humility.

The test is coming—may we find both the body and the spirit willing.

Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion.

Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Today (Friday)

BRISTOL: 7.45 p.m. Crispin Rooms, High Street, Kingswood; W. J. Parkin and C. W. Hope Gill on "Policy and Work—what can we do now?"; PPU and FoR.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Anniesland Co-op. Hall, Linden Place; Helib T. Low; No Conscription League.

LOTHBURY: 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (at back of Bank of England); Gerald Bailey, secretary of National Peace Council; City PPU group.

STRATFORD: 8 p.m. Conference Hall, West Ham Lane; D. V. Tahmanker on "Non-Violent Resistance"; PPU.

SUNDERLAND: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Nile Street; public meeting on "Community Living" to be addressed by two members of Cotswold Bruderhof Community.

WATFORD: 8 p.m. Oddfellows Hall; Reginald Sorensen and Fenner Brockway on "The Case for a Negotiated Peace"; H. E. Seed (chairman); few reserved seats at 1s. from the Secretary, 252 Watford Road, Croxley Green.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m. Severn Street Schools; Peace News conference; readers invited to meet Humphrey Moore (Editor), Andrew Stewart (assistant Editor), and Tom Brown (Distribution Department); chairman: Herbert Whatley. Members meeting at 6 p.m.

HAMMERSMITH: 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, The Mall; Fellowship meeting for COs; Richard Pugh and J. Allen Skinner; PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1: 3.15 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Labour Party Pacifist Fellowship, London and Home Counties regional conference; Mrs. A. Hardie, Councillor W. C. Elliott and Councillor F. R. Moore (chairman).

PORTSMOUTH: 3 to 5 p.m. and 6 to 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; one-day school; R. H. Ward; PPU.

TOTTENHAM: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 594 High Road; "Negotiate Now"; Miss Sybil Morrison and Basil Painting; Women's Peace Campaign. Meeting preceded by Women's Poster Parade.

WALTHAMSTOW: Friends' Hall, Greenleaf Road; one-day school; 3-5 p.m. and 6-8 p.m.; James Avery Joyce; PPU.

Sunday, April 14

BANBURY: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Horse Fair; Rev. G. Gifford on "What I Think About the War"; PPU.

NEW BARNET: 3.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Leicester Road; Father Hrauda.

Monday, April 15

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Capt. C. H. G. Koss on "The Problem of the New Europe"; PPU.

EASTLEIGH: 7.30 p.m. Emmanuel Baptist Church; Rev. Goodwin on "Full Pacifist Witness Now"; PPU.

Tuesday, April 16

BERMONDSEY: 8 p.m. Central Library, Spa Road; R. R. Stokes, Rhys Davies, Dr. A. Salter and Rev. Leslie Davison (chairman) on "Negotiate Peace Now"; Labour Party, PPU, ILP, No Conscription League.

DENBIGH: 7 p.m. Bodawen Chapel, Post Office Lane; Wilfred Wellock and Welsh speaker; chairman: Rev. J. H. Griffith; PPU.

EALING: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 49 Uxbridge Road; Mr. Johnston on "The Labour Party's Economic Policy"; PPU.

HOLBEACH: 7.30 p.m. Public Hall; public debate; Capt. Harold Goodwin; Miss Mary Gamble; chairman: Rev. P. E. Boswell; PPU.

LONDON, N.W.9: 8 p.m. The Co-operative Hall, West Hendon Broadway; Barry Green on "Federation or Chaos?"; PPU.

LONDON, W.1: 7.45 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street; R. H. S. Crossman, of the *New Statesman*: "Freedom in an Age of Violence." All PPU members cordially invited. Food available from 6.30.

NEWTON ABBOT: 7.30 p.m. Kingdom Hall; Dr. Chapman on "The Educational Ladder"; PPU.

STOURBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Scotts Road; Sydney G. Conbeer on "War Resisters' International"; PPU.

TOWER HILL: 12.45 p.m. Open-air meeting; Andrew Stewart; City PPU group.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE: 8 p.m. Queen's Hall, Brown's Café, High Street; Laurence Housman and Rev. Francis B. James (chairman) FoR.

Wednesday, April 17

BARRHEAD, Glasgow: 8 p.m. Glen Street Hall; Sir Hugh S. Robertson and Rev. C. Vincent Williams; "Can Peace be Negotiated Now?"; PPU.

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; World Affairs—3: "Yugoslavia and Peace in the Balkans" by Professor Soubotic; PPU.

BIRKENHEAD: 8 p.m. Beechcroft Settlement, Whetstone Lane; Wilfred Wellock, Rev. T. Johns Martin and George Young (chairman); PPU.

CROYDON: 7.30 p.m. North End Hall; Rev. Leslie Artingstall, Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, Andrew Stewart and Barbara Duncan Harris (chairman); PPU.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Eden Street; Cyril F. Wright on "The Bond of Peace"; PPU.

LONDON, W.1: 1 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; John Barclay on "We English"; Golden Lion Lunch Club.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Free Trade Hall; J. Middleton Murry, Laurence Housman and Mary Gamble; "Case for a Negotiated Peace"; PPU, FoR and Society of Friends. Tickets (6d. and 1s.) for seats reserved until 7.15 from Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, Manchester or PPU, 41 John Dalton Street, Manchester.

YEovil: 7.30 p.m. The Park School, The Park; Rev. A. D. Fraser and Stanley Hargreaves (chairman); United Pacifist Group.

Thursday, April 18

DUNDEE: 8 p.m. PPU Room, 6 Panmure Street; COs' meeting; J. Bruce Hird on "War—its cause and defects"; PPU.

KINGSWAY: 5.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall; annual general meeting; Rev. Reginald Sorensen; chairman: G. E. Albon; Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship.

OXFORD: 7 p.m. Baptist Schoolroom, entrance New Inn Hall Street; T. Sargeant on "Pacifism needs a Strategy"; PPU.

SPARKHILL, Birmingham: 7.45 p.m. Congregational Church, Stratford Road; Dr. A. Herbert Gray, Wilfred Wellock; PPU.

SUTTON: 8 p.m. 77 St. James Road; Leslie Stubbings on "Community Living"; PPU.

Friday, April 19

BISHOPSTOKE: 7.30 p.m. Spring Lane Methodist Church, Lecture Room; R. S. Mallone on "Negotiate Now"; PPU.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Anniesland Co-op. Hall, Linden Place; debate with PPU; No Conscription League.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Miss M. A. Payne on "Education and Peace"; PPU.

LOTHBURY: 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (at back of Bank of England); R. O. Mennell on "Relief Work in Central Europe"; City PPU Group.

Saturday and Sunday, April 20 and 21

CRICH: "The Briars"; Midlands weekend School; "The Christian Pacifist in Action Now"; leader: Dr. Leighton Yates; FoR. Inquiries and bookings by April 13 to Margretta Oliver, 15 Bar Lane, Nottingham.

National Council Statement

(Continued from page 5)

what seem to be some of the evils which create conflict and war:—

The exercise of power over others
All that exalts things above human beings
All that destroys or menaces personality
Wagery and the irresponsible use of capital
Snobbishness
Hypocrisy
Acquisitiveness
Fear

When there is (as there should be) a desire to "do something" beside distribute leaflets, sell *Peace News*, attend meetings, &c., it is suggested that there are many simple ways in which we can be training ourselves for the new order, e.g.:

By considering the use we are now making of our money;

By discovering the extent to which we share in the social theft involved when we use more service than we render;

By being ready to fit ourselves for peace service in the future, learning other languages and understanding the conditions of other countries and our own distressed areas and helping to create e.g., a sense of responsibility for conditions in Germany as well as here;

By recognizing that living out the pacifist ideal does not involve a personal cleavage from others and by realizing that on the pacifist supremely falls the duty of being charitable towards his adversary;

By the practice in argument and propaganda of achieving settlements by consent.

At present there is no real unanimity except on the basis of the one negative. In advancing from this negative position we have to avoid the danger of succumbing to superficial revolutionism. The paradox of the present situation is that we can save the PPU from appearing to be a revolutionary body, by actually making it a revolutionary body, the creation of which will mean the emergence of a society in which a fully human person can live and freedom can be defended by non-violent means.

Other matters dealt with by the National Council included the following:—

Membership.—636 people were reported to have joined during March, and 99 resigned.

Pacifist Service Bureau.—Nancy Richardson reported that a number of people were being trained for farming.

A.G.M. Agenda.—Consideration was given to the final agenda for the Annual General Meeting, and it was decided to recommend to the meeting that the same proportions of votes (10 for delegates, one for individual members) should apply to elections as to voting on resolutions. An agenda committee of three was appointed to consider the resolutions with a view to making recommendations for their most efficient discussion.

Finance.—A proposal, based on legal advice, to form a company limited by guarantee, for the purpose of providing a legally recognized body which could receive legacies and property on behalf of the PPU, was approved. The question of the desirability of having a full membership with subscription, and an associate membership, which had been reported on unfavourably, was referred back to the Executive Committee for further report. It was reported that efforts were being made to add someone with business experience to the Finance Committee.

Sir Richard Acland.—Stuart Morris reported that he had seen Sir Richard Acland in connexion with his campaign, and had put the PPU point of view, and he was asked by the Council to keep in contact with him.

What the Groups Are Doing

A **PEACE NEWS** conference for the Devon region has been arranged for Saturday, May 4, at 3.15 p.m., in Beven's Restaurant, Newton Abbot. The speakers will be Humphrey Moore (Editor), Andrew Stewart (Assistant Editor) and Tom Brown (Distribution Department).

For those who wish to gain some experience in speaking outside their own locality a Peace Camp is being arranged under the joint auspices of the Society of Friends and Devon and Cornwall groups of the PPU to take place in Newton Abbot on July 11 to 24.

Campers would be invited to take part in speaking (if possible) and distributing literature. It is hoped to arrange about twelve or more meetings. Bicycles would be a great asset.

Members would be required to bring along ration cards and contribute 12s. 6d. per week into the food pool. Anyone interested should get into touch with E. C. Maddax, 169 Broadlands Avenue, Newton Abbot, as soon as possible, but not later than June 3.

Detective at Durham Meeting

A RECENT "Negotiate Peace Now" meeting in Durham was addressed by Dr. Arthur Raistrick. The only other members of the general public attracted by a newspaper announcement, as apart from those brought by members, were a detective and a press man who had been heard to say earlier in the day that the PPU ought to be banned. However, he bought quite a lot of literature, asked two intelligent questions, and even put a contribution into the box for group funds.

The Durham group will try the experiment of meeting weekly instead of fortnightly in the summer.

David Spreckley in Luton

DAVID SPRECKLEY spoke to the Luton group on "The Pacifist Revolution" on Saturday, March 20. About 48 members and sympathizers were present.

On Wednesday, March 27, Dr. A. D. Belden spoke to the Christian Pacifist Group or, the need to emphasize that war is Schism at its worst, and arising out of that, his idea of "Ultimate Pacifism" to rope in the near-Pacifist in the Churches.

Swinton and District Group

A NEW group has recently been formed in Nottingham, and at present has twelve members. The next meeting will be held at 44 Port Arthur Road, Nottingham, on Wednesday, April 17, at 7 p.m.

This group is intended to serve the Swinton district and the Colwich Woods and Dale Estates. Meetings will be held at fortnightly intervals.

Enfield and C.O.s

THE Enfield group is assisting COs by means of letters and interviews.

At a recent meeting Roy Walker explained the Government opposition to PPU activity. John P. Fletcher put the Quaker point of view, and Humphrey Moore outlined the history of *Peace News* and details of its articles and distribution.

Preston Studies

AT Preston, last Saturday, A. Stephen Noel addressed a one-day school on "Fundamental Economics."

Group members from towns in the surrounding district were present with Preston members. Tea was provided and was followed by discussion.

Several members distributed leaflets to those registering for military service at the Labour Exchange.

WOMEN'S PEACE CAMPAIGN

THE article on the front page of *Peace News* last week by Dorothy Evans, a member of the Women's Peace Campaign Committee, gave details of the work that is being done in connexion with the Women's Appeal to Governments. If you did not see it please make a point of getting a copy and reading it.

The campaign is going forward now with increasing power and speed. There is no time to waste and we must keep up a continuous pressure; we must concentrate on a great publicity drive; we must let our slogan, "NEGOTIATE NOW," be seen and heard at street corners, in shops and offices and factories, in homes, in trains, in buses, and finally in the House of Commons.

On that day, which I hope to announce very soon, a great gathering of women will throng the lobbies in support of the petition and there will be meetings and demonstrations all over the country.

There is nothing at the moment more important than the saving of Peace for future generations. Women have taken the first step on the road to peace-making; they will not turn back. Let us go forward in good faith and good fellowship; the end is Peace.

SYBIL MORRISON.

Towards the A.G.M.

(Continued from page 3)

before us our desire not only to seek exemption from war service, but to accept exemption from war service in order that we may give ourselves without reservation to the cause of peace.

A Welsh poet declared that "he who would be a leader, must make himself a bridge"; and that is the function of pacifists in a modern society: to be the bridge of persons leading from this darkness to the dawn that will be tomorrow.

And soul by soul and silently
Her shining bounds increase;
And all her ways are gentleness,
And all her paths are Peace.

May we at the AGM direct our minds and dedicate ourselves to that high ambition.

America Favours Conference

American opinion in favour of a conference to end the war in Europe is spreading. In October a vote showed that 69 percent supported the conference, and 50 percent agreed that the USA should take part in it. A recent survey revealed that 75 percent were in favour of a conference.

To the question "If peace could be reached by letting Germany keep Czechoslovakia would you favour this?" 62 percent replied "no" and 38 percent "yes."

To a similar question regarding Poland, 70 percent said "no" and 30 percent said "yes."

BRITISH PROPAGANDA

(Continued from page 1.)

Americans are either in the Canadian army or are waiting to be called up.

On March 4 the Dutchman, C. P. Bakker, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for espionage in the cause of Germany.

The News in Brief

The wreck of the "Admiral Graf Spee," lying off Montevideo, has been sold for 10 thousand Pesos (or 20,000 Reichmarks) to the Uruguayan merchant, Senor Julio Vega Helguera. It is to be broken up.

On March 4 a German aeroplane was found in Neufchateau in Belgium. It had come down. The bodies of the seven members of the crew were buried.

Two Belgian aeroplanes were shot down over Belgian territory by a Heinkel bomber. On account of this violation of Belgian neutrality the Belgian Government has sent a sharp note of protest to Berlin.

In January, 1940, the amount of Indian exports to Great Britain was more than double that in January, 1939.

Circulation of German Banknotes

Inflation is creeping up. From June, 1937, when 4,000 million notes were printed, this figure has risen to 11,757 million in December, 1939. These numbers were actually given by the German press.

What the effect of some of those "news" items is even intended to be it is difficult to imagine. It is not so difficult to imagine the actual effect of six quotations, in other parts of the leaflet, from Mr. Churchill (five from one speech) on people who had been soaked in anti-British propaganda that has concentrated so much on painting the worst possible picture of the man who is now so largely responsible for the conduct of the war that has been declared against those people.

By contrast, there is "A Finnish Message to Germany"—one of the very few items at all likely to do other than strengthen an already largely unwilling support of Hitler. Under this heading the Helsinki daily, *Uusi Suomi* (organ of the Conservatives, though this fact is not mentioned), is quoted as saying, among other things:

"Germany has nowhere better friends than in Finland. The reason for this friendship was Germany's help in the Finnish war of independence and its uncompromising stand against Bolshevism and red imperialism."

Elsewhere a number of German U-boat men are named as being "in England, where they are well treated," and a couple of drawings, accompanying a manuscript

letter, suggest that the letters Fritz receives at the front are dictated by Nazi officials at home.

If the imagination of those who sincerely believe they are crusading against evil fails to suggest the futility of this kind of message to the German people, consider the more impartial opinion of the American journal, *Look*.

This paper recently published a translation of one of the British leaflets together with comments by a leading American advertising copywriter. Following are some of the phrases from the leaflet in question (not the same as that quoted above) together with the copywriter's remarks in italics:

"President Roosevelt offered you Germans an honourable peace . . . How could Roosevelt offer peace? The US isn't at war with Germany. This kind of nonsense hurts believability of the whole piece."

" . . . you cannot hope to win."—A tactless and challenging statement to a nation that has always prided itself on its military prowess. " . . . we are already prepared to conclude peace with any German Government which has a sincere determination for peace."—What kind of peace? Another Versailles? Assurance should be given of determination for a just peace.

The advertising man's general comment was a final condemnation of the spirit behind the whole leaflet:

"Europeans have always resented England's condescending attitude—an attitude that comes from every line of this document. Suggest complete rewrite. Put a little warmth and neighbourliness in it!"

"Stop-the-War" Candidates In Two Scottish By-Elections

DESPITE the national by-election truce between the Government and official Opposition, the local Labour Party is forcing a contest in the Pollok division of Glasgow. It has unanimously endorsed the candidature of its chairman, Mr. John Nicolson, in opposition to Commander T. D. Galbraith, prospective Government candidate.

Strong pressure to withdraw the unofficial candidate is expected from the National Executive of the Labour Party. The local party is ready for this and realizes that it will have to accept financial responsibility for the campaign, which will be anti-war and therefore against the accepted policy of the party.

Offers of help should be sent to Mr. Nicolson's campaign headquarters at the Labour Hall, Shawholme Street, Glasgow. (Figures at last election: Sir John Gilmour (Unionist), 22,408; Labour candidate, 8,670.)

London Contest

A "Stop-the-War" candidate will fight the North Battersea Parliamentary by-election.

He is Mr. Eric Joyce, assistant secretary of the North Battersea Divisional Labour Party.

BECOME A NON-SMOKER!

Protect Your Throat; Your Voice; Your Health
Save £10-£20 per annum — Without Sacrifice
STOP SMOKING
BY THE UNIQUE WAINLEY METHOD
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Words Fail Us!

"MR. REGINALD THROWER, senior air raid warden of the C2 Ipswich group, believes he really has had the last word on this respirator-for-babies record business."

"'Forty seconds is my time,' said Mr. Thrower yesterday, 'and that cuts the existing record by two-thirds.'"

"A son was born during the weekend to Mrs. R. H. Larter, a next-door neighbour in Leopold Road."

"I waited with the respirator helmet and was on the spot before the baby got over his first cry," said Mr. Thrower."

—News Chronicle.

"Negotiate Peace" Call at Manchester

TO continue the national campaign for a negotiated peace launched by the Peace Pledge Union in London recently, a mass meeting will be held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Wednesday, April 17, commencing at 7.30 p.m.

The subject will be "The Case for a Negotiated Peace," and the speakers J. Middleton Murry, Laurence Houseman and Mary Gamble. The local FoR and the Society of Friends are co-operating in arranging the meeting.

Tickets, 6d. and 1s. for seats reserved until 7.15 p.m., are obtainable from the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, or the PPU, 41 John Dalton Street, Manchester.

"Let a man overcome anger by kindness, evil by good; let him conquer the stingy by a gift, the liar by truth."

PEACE NEWS SUMMARY

(Continued from page 5.)

"The other decisions of the first 'report' session of the Congress can be summarized without exaggeration as a manifesto of war against privilege—adopted by an average majority of twenty to one with an average of about 10 per cent abstentions."

The questions voted upon had been thrashed out in discussion in "commissions."

Following the example of pacifists within other denominations, Spiritualists are now making a great effort to form a national spiritualist pacifist organization. A number of existing pacifist groups are now co-ordinating and appealing to fellow Spiritualists to support the PPU and make known within the spiritualist movement *Peace News* and other pacifist literature. The work of these groups is being supported by *New World Outlook*, a bi-monthly which makes an intimate appeal to Spiritualists to support the pacifist movement. Pacifists who are also Spiritualists are invited to write to the Hon. Organizer, Ralph Walton, 67 Farleigh Road, London, N.16.

On Wednesday of last week a meeting was held in the Kingsway Hall, London, at which Lord Tavistock explained the failure of his recent peace efforts.

"For humanity's sake—be constructive. Proclaim to the whole world just and generous peace terms now." That is the message of the latest poster published jointly by the Northern Friends' Peace Board (Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, 2) and the Friends' Peace Committee (Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.)

One of the constructive, though unspectacular pieces of work going ahead until the outbreak of war was the creation of personal friendships between people of different lands. One of the organizations responsible for much good work in this field, the International Friendship League has just published a booklet about itself. It is entitled *Why—When—Where—IFL?* and you can get it from its headquarters at 114-116 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1, price 2d.

TWO LIBRARIES BAN "PEACE NEWS"

COPIES of *Peace News* will no longer be displayed in the public libraries at Camborne and Redruth, Cornwall.

This follows a warm discussion at a meeting of the Camborne-Redruth Urban Council, at which a recommendation from the libraries committee that permission to display the paper was carried *nem. con.* after an amendment proposing that the matter be referred back had been defeated by seven votes to eighteen.

So Camborne and Redruth will not now be in the fashion—for *Peace News* will still be displayed at well over 400 other public libraries in this country, as well as some in other lands.

Reporters Wanted

The secretary of the Central Board of Conscientious Objectors makes an urgent request for offers of voluntary reporters to cover the Fulham and Southwark Tribunals. Shortland is not necessary but reports should be typewritten. Please send names to Nancy Browne, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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WHAT A PACIFIST SAYS

IN ordering 5 dozen copies of the April issue, a S.W. London P.P.U. member writes: "I want to have 'WAR COMMENTARY' on sale. I consider it the best of the anti-war publications." So say many other readers.

The April issue contains the usual variety of thought-provoking articles. Reg. Reynolds on "Politics," F. A. Ridley on "Roman Church and Modern Age," etc. Send for your copy now, 3d. post free, to **FREEDOM PRESS DISTRIBUTORS** (P.3), 9 NEWBURY ST., London, E.C.1. (Subscription rates: 1s. 3d. for 6 months.)

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Last week's donations to "Peace News" Fund: £5 7s.

Total of "Peace News" Fund to date: £577 11s. 6d.

(The *Peace News* fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy paid to *Peace News*. Though the paper is now self-supporting, the debt for the subsidy paid over several months remains, and we would therefore welcome donations of any size to enable us to pay it off as soon as possible. Individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News, Ltd.*, and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implicit therein or PPU connexion with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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